624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 ● 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

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[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

171 792 177 776 tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the temple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

624 796 After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged. The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

624 On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

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[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

[p. 65b]

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

769 792 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 527 More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 624 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

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[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[P. 72a]

175 in Hsining recorded during the period of Mongol rule.

The history of the Hsining Shat'o and those of Inner Mongolia can be joined up in the following manner. In 1201, when the ruler of the Naimans, in the present Outer Mongolia, was organizing a coalition against Chingis Khan, the chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, Alakush Tegin, although a vassal of the Chin dynasty, warned Chingis of the coalition and offered to march with him against the Naimans. In gratitude, Chingis Khan sent him a present of 500 horses and 1,000 sheep. The Naimans were defeated in 1204, and in 1206 Chingis made Alakush a prince of the new empire he was founding and also gave his daughter, Alaghi Beki, in marriage to Poyaoho, son of Alakush. In 1219, when Chingis invaded Khorezm, he was accompanied by Poyaoho.[19] From then on for at least three generations princesses of the Mongol imperial line were given in marriage to the descendants of Alakush. A grandson of Alakush, the Prince George, was converted from the Nestorian heresy by John of Montecorvino.[20]

We are thus entitled to assume that when Subudei, one of Chingis' greatest commanders, invaded Hsining in the course of the campaign in which he took Lanchou in 1226,[21] he was delighted to find there kinsmen of the Shat'o-Onguts who were already allies and vassals of the Mongols, and that it was easy to take over the Hsining Shat'o as favored vassals of the Mongol dynasty on the Tibetan frontier.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMA BUDDHISM

Since completing the writing of this volume and while preparing the material for the subsequent volume on the place of religion in Monguor life I have realized that certain aspects of the history of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism in the Monguor region should have been mentioned in this volume, as they explain why rapid economic development and growth of population in this region began only after the suppression of the revolt of Lobsang Dantsin and the Lamas in 1723.

Until 1723 this region, called Huang Chung, had been unsuccessfully colonized several times by Chinese settlers as an adjunct to Chinese garrisons. These attempts had failed because of tribal wars and frontier inroads. The population had remained thin, and its components had frequently changed and moved. The Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368, had settled Chinese colonies and posted Chinese garrisons in only a few localities, controlling the rest of the region by accepting the allegiance of the Monguors under their various T'u-ssu.

792 In order to promote the adherence of non-Chinese
175 tribes and the allocation of them to permanent terri-

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[19] Summarized from H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, 85, 101, 133, 237. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[20] Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale, as cited, especially p. 631.

[21] Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, as cited, 290–291.

[P. 135b]

tories, the Ming authorities granted special favors to Lamas who encouraged the tribes to submit to China. Most of these Lamas at that time belonged to the Red sects and were married, and could be granted hereditary titles and domains. They were also encouraged to found monasteries which had special functions in administering the tribes and collecting the tribute that symbolized Chinese rule. In my subsequent volume the names of the Lamas and tribes will be established from the Chinese sources.

Under this Imperial patronage Lamaism flourished luxuriantly under the Ming dynasty and continued to expand under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The monastery of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, established forty-two subordinate institutions during the ensuing 119 years, and the monasteries of Sha-ch'ung and Kumbum followed the same pattern. North of the Hsining River the number of Lamas was very large in proportion to the thin frontier population. By 1723 Erh-ku-lung was inhabited by 2,500 Lamas. Of its satellite monasteries, Seerkōk had 2,000; Chiebsang 800; Ch'i-chia-ssu 700; T'ien-t'ang-ssu 700, and Shih-men-ssu 700, while smaller satellites had from 10 to over 100. South of the Hsining River the monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, founded under imperial patronage at the very beginning of the Ming period, had more than 950 Lamas in the main monastery and its satellites. The figures for Kumbum are not recorded for that period, but must have been of much the same order, because 300 Kumbum Lamas were beheaded in 1723.

The absorption of a high proportion of the male population by these monasteries had a serious effect on the productivity of the region which should be taken into account in addition to the losses caused by frontier insecurity. Men who became Lamas were not only withdrawn from production but had to be fed by the depleted population. We may look also to this loss of manpower as an explanation of the eagerness of the T'u-ssu to enroll in their clans Tibetans and Chinese to till their domains, found new families, and above all pay the land taxes.

At the same time the influence and power of the lamaseries competed destructively with the authority and

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175 772 wealth of the T'u-ssu, whose subjects frequently moved in large numbers to become "disciples" tilling the land of lamaseries which offered them more favorable terms of tenantry. Such considerations helped to explain why in 1723 the T'u-ssu so willingly helped the Chinese military expedition which crushed the revolt of the Lamas. Even before this, in 1591, T'u-ssu forces had taken part in the burning of the famous temple built in Kukunor by Altan Khan in 1576 at the time of his meeting with the Dalai Lama.

Nor is it surprising to learn from the Chinese sources that the Chinese officials exulted over the crushing of the revolt and the promulgation of new imperial regulations curtailing the excessive power and influence of the Lamas. Hints can be found that the local Chinese officials held a grudge against the "barbarian" Living Buddhas whom they despised but whom it had been the policy of Peking to honor and favor, and against the lamaseries which had become possessors of large domains whose tenants were exempt from compulsory services and whose rents were exempt from taxation. There is no doubt that a dangerous situation had developed in the ranks of the impoverished T'u-ssu and the discontented Chinese officials.

Economically, the wealth that flowed into the granaries and treasuries of the monasteries was removed from circulation and did not provide surpluses for trade; it was either consumed, or hoarded, or used to found new Lama communities, and was not even used for charitable grants to the lay population. At the same time, the rest of the community suffered from lack of labor to expand agriculture and production. The economy inevitably shrank until it produced scarcely enough for its own consumption; there was no surplus left to stimulate trade and the growth of cities.

Thus the sociological and economic history of Lamaism in the Monguor region can be summarized by saying that under political patronage its growth was artificially stimulated, with the result that it expanded so fast that it disrupted both the economic system and the social structure of the country, making improvement and progress impossible.

[P. 136 b]

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
599 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to
be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning
among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
[847 or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls.
848] That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property,
and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine
or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma
[847
848]

(1) Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do
595 families who lack workers.

We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to
Mo the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large
461 part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills her-
462 self with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the
595 nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least
fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[428] *ipso facto* his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

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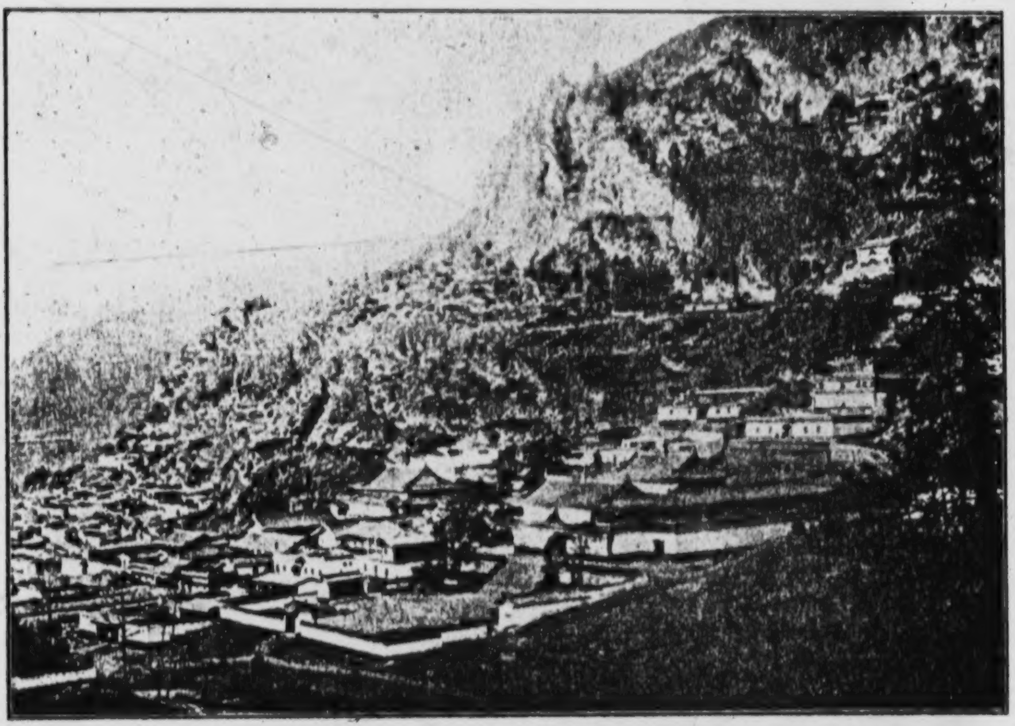

Lamasery of the yellow lamas of Erl-kou-long (north of Sining). With few exceptions, all the lamas are T'ou-jen.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

756, 791, 792

/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

[5 cont.] Their total number cannot

161 be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

●792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rĕgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114 648 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen. European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama;cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yögur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A.Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

[6]

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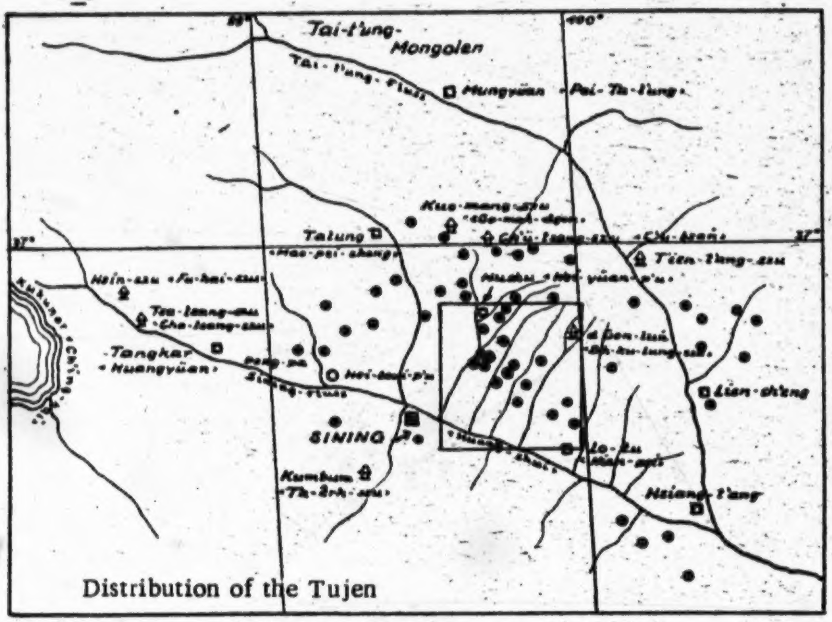
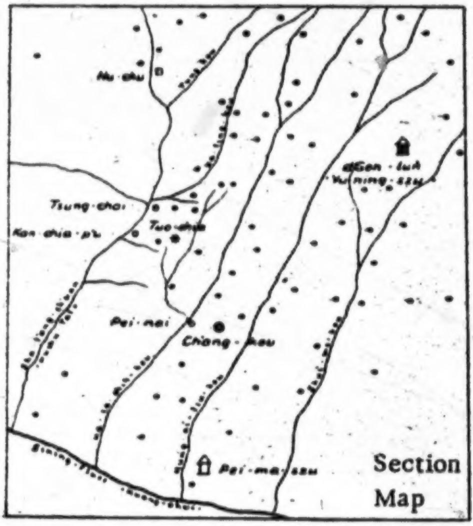
●792


Tai-t'ung-
Mongolen
Tai-t'ung-Fluss
Mungyüan
Pai-Ta-t'ung
Kuo-mang-szu
Talung
Hao-pei-chang
Chü-tsang-szu
Chü-tsan
T'ien-t'ang-szu
Hsin-szu
Fu-hai-szu
Tsa-tsang-szu
Cha-tsang-szu
Tangkar
Huangyüan
Hei-tsui-p'u
Sining-Fluss
SINING
Kumbum
Ta-ërh-szu
dGon-lun
Ërh-ku-lung-szu
Lien-ch'eng
Lo-tu
Hsiang-t'ang
Kukunor
Ch'ing
37°
100°

Distribution of the Tujen

From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.


Hu-chu
Tsung-chai
Kan-chia-p'u
Tuo-chia
Pei-nai
Ch'ang-kou
dGon-lun
Yu-ning-szu
Pei-ma-szu
Sining-Fluss
Huang-chai

Section Map

- ⌂ Monastery
- □ Chinese towns
- ○ Chinese villages
- • Tu-jen settlements
- ✱ Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- ◉ Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the ʟCañ-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- ⌂ dGon-luṅ, Ěrh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rĕgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ).

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special
ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the
bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary
little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One
● [792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated
at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be consecrated
792 by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha.
Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.
After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary
fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have
been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of
dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration
begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel,
but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.
The master of the household drives the spear in the ground
in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright
during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments
for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the
rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not
want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama
or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the
incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the
[782] household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before
the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In
front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little
burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley,
wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing
several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in
[783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba-water.
[792] He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt
mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration.
Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little
plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear
with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in
front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells
this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and
the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one
spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengēre or the god of heaven
never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary
spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the
mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
● [792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into
the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a
spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the
case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is
regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it
stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the
many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall
in a god's niche.

If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a
[346] special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are con-
structed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand
in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor.
All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance,
one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the
spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no
spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard.
It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.] is copied from the Tibetan name, is phonetically less ambiguous. Otherwise the Chinese say simply mao-ch'iang (= to the Siningman, miao ch'iang), that is, spear, lance.

šdiendoṅ therefore must be rten mduṅ in Tibetan. This combination is not found in Ch. Das, but it cannot mean anything other than a spear which is the seat of a spirit. For further information, see Part Two.

[792] The word purġan is used not only for the spirits themselves, but also for everything that they choose as a seat, though never for a Tulku (Living Buddha). The Chinese, on the other hand, designate with fo-yeh not only the Buddhistic gods and their idols, but also the Tulkus, which they also call huo-fo (fuo), "Living Buddha.".

The consecration bands: šdien, or xuon (Tib.), or sẽ̈nisial (Tib.?) ((4) [see Note 4 above].

Bells (rattles): xõṅguor (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 26.] xõṅġuor: Mongolic xongxo, Manchurian honggon, probably comes from the Chinese chung = bell. -- dzändän: goes back to Sanskrit and signifies sandaltree (Unkrig).

Mirror: xaldan mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
xdzër (Tib.) mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
Sandalwood: dzändän mõdë = sandalwood (11) [see Note 11 above].
[824] Mountain ash: ġadani yärgë mõdë = the mountain's ash wood (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 25.] The botanical name of the yärgë was not definitely

[23 cont.]

192 [Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
787 surroundings. To him everything is
756 in a state of excitement and trembling.
791 After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-soothsaying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõṅ) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõṅladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dżuo- and dõṅ- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27]

2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

756 The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the
787 sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always per-
*[778] forms his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned
[792] how to do it, he goes to a lamič monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[29 cont.]

756 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the
787 petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents
his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone
[562] thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a
quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc.
In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of
● which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in
[792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once.
*[778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself consecrated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this
756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from
their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy,
[158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
787 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
● 792 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with
*778 special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13), slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit
revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name,
kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning
his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification
[783] prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during
this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual
intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable
amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

756 before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the
787 sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with
● 792 this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books,
* 778 the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

[783] Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

> 8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

> 9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese. [184]
>
> The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

> 756 [Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
> 787 to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village
> •792 with a small lamasery [33] from which
> *778 the shamans of Kumbum come, who
> appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.
>
> In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's, I observed these shamans in Kuo-mâng-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
> [791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
> [562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

756 The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals
776 itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary
spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-
*[778] disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

[782] The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come
● [792] from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration:
776 the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take
possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the
tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
463 He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests,
or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect
a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the
yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate
at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth
from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters
some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open
[31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly
steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the
sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their
hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit
their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bŏ, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bŏdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ġsolkā (Tib. loanword); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo šguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

● [792] 1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõṅ. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 242 [177] Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

[34 cont.]

192
791 7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kañgergẽ: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sẽnoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan sñags pa = sorcerer; sñags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgãṅdõṅ: Tibetan rkañ = shinbone, duñ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarẽ: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic ḍamaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombõra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgãṅ-dõṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarẽ (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kañgärgẽ.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

792 [35]

4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

792 796 574 1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792 [778] The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

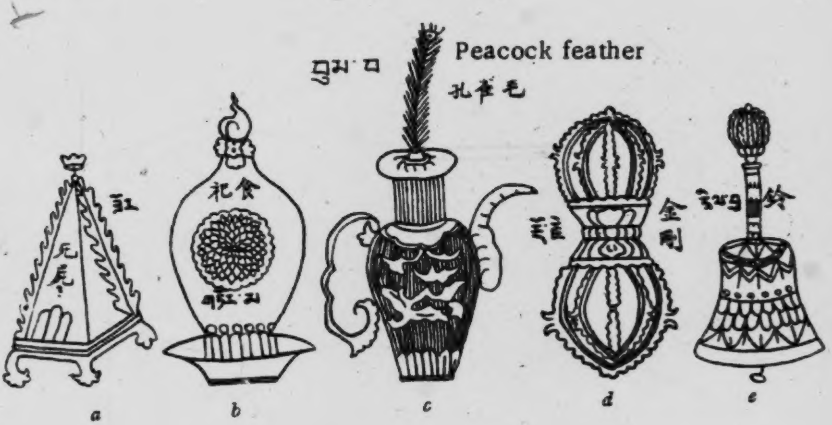
Details

792 796 574 Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

778
534

Fig. 3



[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 796 574 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 796 574 [262] bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba; a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

[492] Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly accommodated.

[492] The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
574 side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on
[535] alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain
574 prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.

788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men,
then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

792 Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before
796 each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great
782 lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent
778 offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3), and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important rolé in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

[534]
[354]
[532]

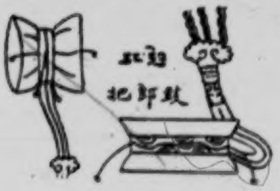


Fig. 4.

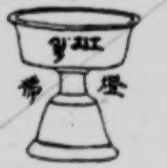


Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778 [192] to the animals (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning šdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma. . .)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes *(p. 527) the expression* gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name baliḣ among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778 [Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.] torma that at the conclusion of the tšam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him [788] on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

792 796 974 465 Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 796 465 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to entertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] [535] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

[262] [782] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

792 [39 cont.]

796
465
[262]
[782]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

[782]
[788]

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782]
[272]
[354]

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

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Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]

772 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception.
796 The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the gifts are brought after him on animals.
574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[211]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

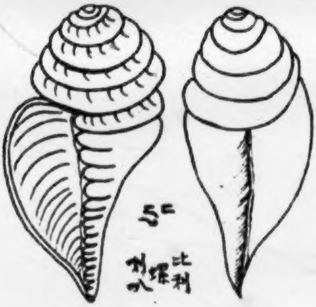

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]

796 784 211 [177]

> [Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

> 9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.
>
> [751] [43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]

796 [Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
784 rather in order to give strangers a
211 signal so that they will not be in-
751 fected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
782 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõṅba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sãṅ (10); šge sãṅ = great H.; mula sãṅ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the känbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this [778] Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, [775] in other words, also for the incarnations

[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purġan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sãṅ or sãṅrë-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sãṅ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sãṅrëdzi: Tibetan saṅs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dãṅwu: Tibetan daṅ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- šimier: Tibetan šis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan šis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzõṅ: Tibetan ts'em bzaṅ = cloth good. -- dõṅsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosë: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan maṅ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) - in rows.

796 First fetching: ġdzō dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzō niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzō ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 262 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsüra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 796 Speech hada: sidār (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbō.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuān.

[778] Torma: ṡdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsār (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbā (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

115
142
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302
● 792
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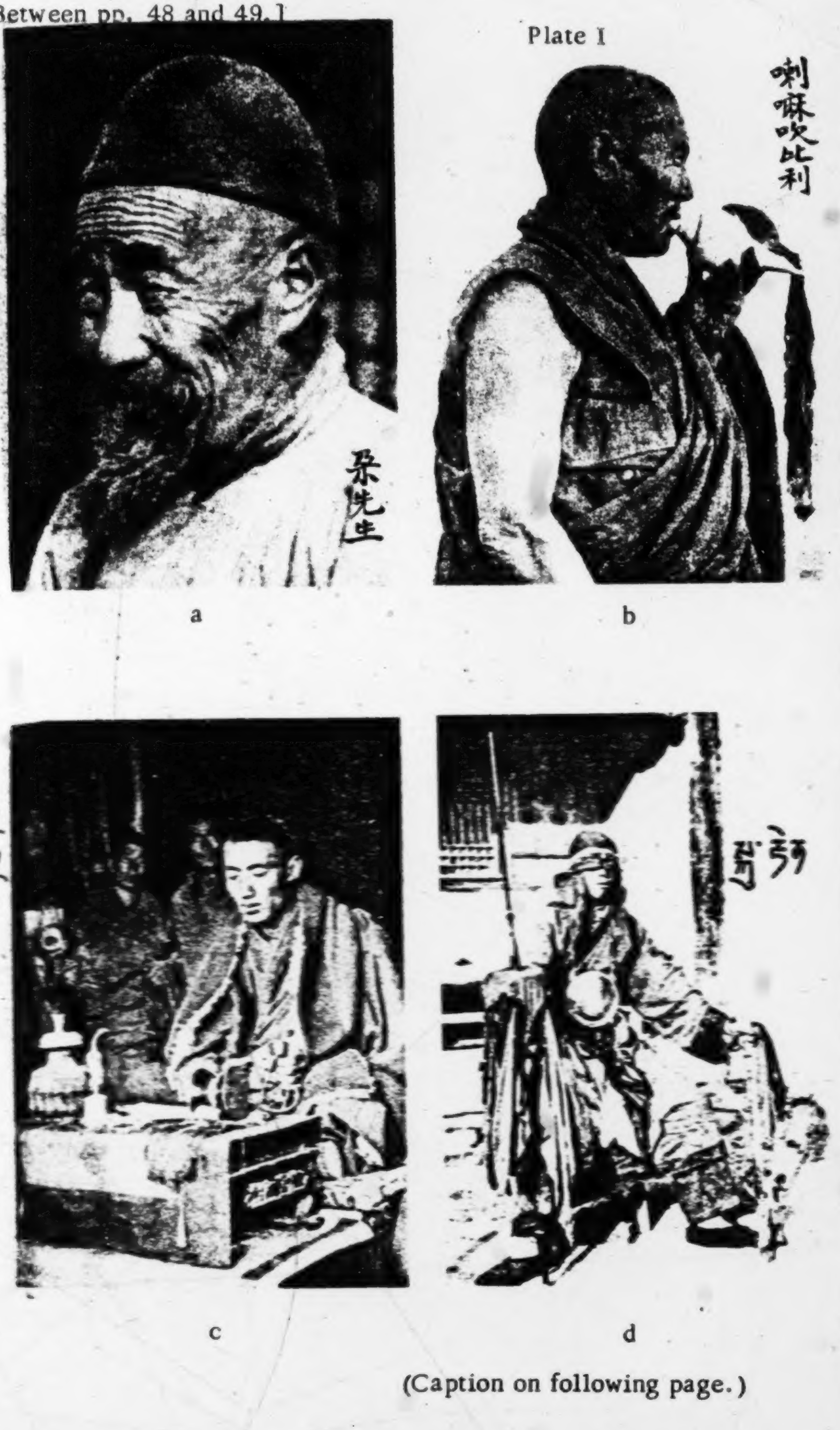
* 778



a b

c d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
● 792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guắmbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[782] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
[778] szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
[292] wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778

[137] [291] a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

[782] b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342] [351] [417] c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

353 *778 [792] [777] In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

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* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the
[351] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger
[Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same
time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is
[791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

● This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same
[792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the
tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes
[782] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great
[351] incense offering is presented three times daily.
[784] At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed
with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated,
[782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumigating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the following gifts is put in front of it (1): *778 a number of small bowls of barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they 527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the [792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to ● the monastery.

Details

791 *778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living [782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can [792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts [592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

[787] 2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[57 cont.]

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[621]

[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

•[792]

[171]

The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

[792]

as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[58 cont.]

*778 796 782 [Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 [791] [787] [357] [784] ● [792] The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 [372] Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned
is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at
a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a
small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on
the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell
square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse,
● or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pen-
[792] nant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no sooth-
[791] sayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer
merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Every-
thing is done without special ceremonies, even without an in-
[357] cense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days.
[784] Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and
the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out,
*778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of
the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions.
[791] For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which
[792] are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and
over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter
and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the
upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay
and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle,
[231] to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and
fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure
is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort,"
for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the
compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-
pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the
main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making
and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that
are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising
of a beṅkaṅ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted
[527] white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects
782 the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacri-
[776] fices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a
●[792] lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on
[791] which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height.
[621] A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several
[628] villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that

[821] for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

*778 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled.
784 No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows
[231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any
[776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All
● [792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound.
[791] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of
[178] the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured
over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the
directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days,
depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽṅ designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽṅ), that is, 100,000. kãṅ is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkāṅ.

[72 cont.]

346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] a roof, such as džëw-yi and ger-kãṅ. The kãṅ described here is this ger-kãṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kãṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽṅkãṅ, tsā̃la bẽṅkãṅ, dšōma bẽṅkaṅ, maridzē bẽṅkaṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽṅkãṅ. The many rēduombẽṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãṅgudzē, probably also belong among the bẽṅkãṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 . Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] [476] [562] [792] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[72 cont.]

*778 at the erection is undertaken only by a lama of higher rank.

● [792] The urns: Altogether there are ten urns, two large urns up to 40 centimeters high and eight small urns. Concerning the purchase, the purification of the urns, etc., the same regulations apply as in the case of the earth-god urn (cf. the relevant section).

The contents of the urns: The large urns contain two layers of filling; in addition, a bundle of five prayer scrolls is stuck in each layer, in other words, ten scrolls, five in each of the two bundles, in each large urn.

The manufacture of these bundles is done in the following fashion: The lama takes a little stick of clean wood about ten centimeters long and as thick as a little finger. Around this he wraps a layer of leaves of paper printed with Tibetan texts. He [213] himself brings the wooden plates for the printing, since the texts vary according to the spirits represented by the scrolls. A very tight wrapping of silk thread in the five colors is put around this layer of paper, so that nothing can be seen of the texts. Then the lama takes five such scrolls and ties them together in such a way that the principal scroll is in the middle and the other four surround it symmetrically. Then a layer of silk or thin cloth, yellow or red in color, is put around this bundle, and finally the whole is once more wound tightly with silk thread in the five colors, like a thread-spool for spinning. -- Everything, the paper, the cloth, the threads, etc., are sprinkled each time with holy water and fumigated before use. -- Thus altogether four bundles are prepared.

[73] As extra features for the receptacle the following are used: mountain earth from sacred mountains (it must be taken from the peak); river water, pure spring water, which is sprinkled into the urn; wood from pure trees in the mountains, fir or cypress tops (foliage and bark from these trees are also permissible); grain, such as wheat, white beans, white rape, barley, and Tibetan barley (ch'ing-kuo); black and white sugar; Buddha gold, silver, little pieces of pearl, mother-of-pearl.

[621 cont.]

551 [Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serãṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdziġ, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese,
[171] too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sĕrăṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, how-
791 ever, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should
[592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. --
553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or
592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It
[792]

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792] 4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day,
[431] the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the
guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the
[527] child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for
men and women separately. On this occasion much barley
[273] wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.
[562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the
animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the
mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of
the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd.
[431] The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return
the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately.
This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd";
[553] the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[171] [846] 2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630]

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4. The Age-blessing*

* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are [574] treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special com- [785] mandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or
a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around
sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are
better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager
● [792] for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done
only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consulta-
[604] tion with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the
hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes
[621] part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance.
[262] Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and
oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard
are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased,
and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few
days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room
in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and
eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the
person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a
clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come
early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be conse-
[431] crated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it,
which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a
chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread,
oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A
master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according
to custom and order.

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest
[604] respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he
comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang
[431] and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated
with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together
drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the
bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[631 cont.]

527 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and
778 money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later
888 receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[431]
Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the
[574] men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right
[562] and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother
with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is
taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter
[574] it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable
amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of
778 ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The
sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the
888 mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada
● 792 and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother
604 demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the
master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

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[604] Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-
[788] blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

[783] 4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]
527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
888 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may
792 be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the
lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again
in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy
water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of
ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot
material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded
cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with
this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition
against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and
women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language
so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about
a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be
silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is
cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies
before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the
same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled
with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the
candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The
cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas
throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late
afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does
the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however,
the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing
and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
792 oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[431] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the
[465] morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not
accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him.
A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-
butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[792] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives
[766] 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's
death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also
usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals
[262] that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the
meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation.

This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang,
888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may
[785] disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration
[792] performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecra-
[796] tion seems to be merely the last step
[792] of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death ceremonies and burn the corpse. [792] First, however, the mother's brother must release the corpse; [604] this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place. [792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones [765] are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot. Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the 766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men 764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[639 cont.]

764 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if
782 possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the
house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the
● 792 room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on
the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never
prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of
mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there
only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand,
may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for
the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes re-
ceive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by
782 the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an ac-
792 counting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes,
465 to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being in-
[604] vited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons
who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

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[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
782 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
● 792 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
465 temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[272] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[262] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[552] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177] 13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: chʻin san, chen kʻuai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the
602 death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
604 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

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14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

● [792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[640 cont.]

764 601 [Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. [792] This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

764 602 604 [782] The mother's brother is solemnly received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box. There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

764 177 605 16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over
20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The
place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually
chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the
members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the de-
ceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is
considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange
soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special
preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields,
because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival
in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact
that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse
is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays,
when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted,
cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys,
and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma
782

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
792 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
782 and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While
he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the
mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the
mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into
account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies
he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set
to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[644 cont.]

764 792 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door, over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning [778] [775] in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma represents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

764 372 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. [792] The men then make the lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil-fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[644 cont.]

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[178]

[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.] however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. [792] Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

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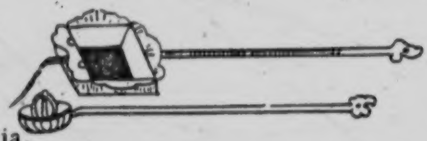
792

Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

764 Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama
[792] usually returns to his monastery on the same day.



[415] Ladling spoon and
pouring tube.
In the spoon, the
thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in
addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the
help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead
person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that
the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from
his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

[778] 20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[645 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
795 back and forth, but in all probability
792 it is to catch the mirror images of the
boys who have been brought before the
Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring
[783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica-
[372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of
[792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of
[372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members
602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The
[782] relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the
morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late
evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her
own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over
his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse,
piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it.
Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until
the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still
smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume
the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however,
764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation
like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer,
and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who
[588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the
mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has
766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies
without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one
[782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, however,
[604] the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting
concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is
involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a
death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as
drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation
or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If
766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama
is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the deceased
[212] on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of
grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into
which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All
the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and
without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171] 23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed strawman.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wòldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin,) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yü-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaǵladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: hărga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndãnlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzãn kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tędzi ula.

[841 cont.]

778 825 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be eaten.

[262] [432] Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away, for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

[422] There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

[787] Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

[776] There are gods who ride the animals, for instance, Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

[792] 3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõn each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

[171] It could not be discovered which gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [i.e - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

192
Word List

778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.
To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.
[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.
Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).
Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).
Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

000
2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
●792 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the
ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as un-
[783] clean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for
this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

782
The travel provisions: The following things are packed
789 in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[484] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the
[415] time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color),
a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

789 782 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 [778] [792] Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

789 [Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.]
778 of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

On the following morning, the seventh day, one in-
[791] vites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons
[787] the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the
[792] torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[845 cont.]
789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the
saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it
away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer,
and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by
the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance
across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it
away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it
cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot
at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma.
Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad
side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back
again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run
home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs
to the demon. In case it does come running back again
later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
756 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who
escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying
and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a
hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a
tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes
the spirit and, followed by the master of the household,
goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of
straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it
and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the
hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then
the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a
shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the
late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the
demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows
the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

789 184 171 [782] 2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

789 792 [776] [782] [556] Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.

[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the
782 procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer.
The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit.
Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the
tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending
on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn
is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone,
like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is
stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled
with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men
burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time
yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color,
about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow
neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom.
The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or
lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit.
At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley,
white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

[174] 2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.] fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

782 Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who
•792 possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama.
[791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches
[357] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the
[784]

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.] As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In
[192] Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdë̄r-wë̄m, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression së̄noġ-dër (cf. section,
[778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[778]
[192]

[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

[784]
[357]

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[778]

[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

[776]
[777]

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 •792 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- [784 351] After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791] 1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelongba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- [562] During the ceremony, the general avoidance prescriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to [791] its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer.

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] [792] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 782 [792] [351] [784] Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 782 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas [171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from [792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 824 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; [753] one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 [792] Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

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2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles [792] the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them taken to the household altar.

782 532 [791] [792] Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame, namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

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3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

[864 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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[333]

Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws [532] a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[864 cont.]

782 The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day,
[792] immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer,
drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the
incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire
ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting
the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to
it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he
always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up,
which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide
cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees
for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter
will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan
[372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two
little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both
[783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it
with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small
table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the
right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the
pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-
seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over
which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner.
[Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray
with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-
spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept
[372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-
lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used
at the cremation.

782 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it
in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs.
792 Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape
of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space
in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with
cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a
hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While
he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

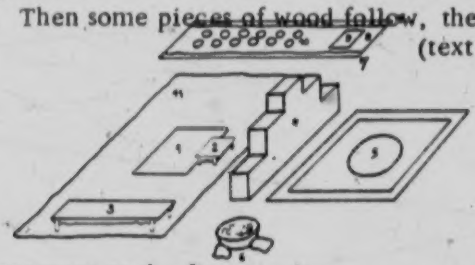
[866 cont.]

782 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood
792 with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he
has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the
first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame
in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it.
Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the
butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same
as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole.
[372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up
and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire
flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a
[372] threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately,
the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of

(text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons;
4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6.
butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning;
11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the
informant.)

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(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[292] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
[171] Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)
782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following
day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[866 cont.]

782 184 [Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.] about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 [302] [792] [372] The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] [755] [777] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[776] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods;
[792] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[755] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

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782 372 7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The
whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant,
however, thought that it had nothing
to do with it. According to him it
was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also
venerated with it, as the torma proved,
but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, *Homa*, is involved (cf. Lessing,
loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone
cannot be interpreted other than as a
corruption of the Tibetan *sbyin-sreg*.
sbyiṅ is pronounced *jin*, which is very
clearly to be seen in Note 8 (*źũin-tsẽġ*).
Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under *sbyin-sreg*: "burnt offerings as made by
Tantrik Buddhists, . . . *sbyin-sreg-gi*
[*869*] *rdsas* clarified butter, articles
necessary for burnt sacrifices. . . .
sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ . . . first wood
necessary for the offering" [cited in
English]. (For *yam-šiṅ*, cf. the Tujen
foreign word *yiew-siṅ*.) "*Homa* is the

[866 cont.]

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372
[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsioġ and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsioġ fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ...tsioġ (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsioġ with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[171] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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782
8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types
of prayer under the expression yaṅdzila-, to implore, to request,
and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their
attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer,
however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[792] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common
designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen,
that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom
mošĕ, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching.
In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer,
something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite
rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the
Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the
laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests,
Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of
magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the
shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of
their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely
linked.

771
5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not
dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[216 cont.]

771 174 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corresponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

771 792 174 This peculiar position, conditioned by history and environment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A.Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Êrh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguän [538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

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787 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of certain actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

[782]

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community, but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

174 Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyoṅ, for where is the boundary line between the

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 792 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the *mani*-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi- 792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a *Chi-t'u-szu* (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent [624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (*T'u-szu*) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery *dGon-luṅ* is Tibetan. [103] *dgon* (pronounced *gon*) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression [192] for "monastery" (*vihāra*), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; *luṅ* means "valley, district." Thus, *dGon-luṅ* is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply [346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[254 cont.]
792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luṅ is simply the monastery.
The official full name, however, is dGon-luṅ byams-pa gliṅ,
[103] just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliṅ. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliṅ means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luṅ contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgẽ,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the believing populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
[788] people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their designation
792 nation Rgulõṅ (Rẽgulõṅ) is only a corruption of dGon-luṅ. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
792 ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[361] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[346] ridge, which bears the name Tuguän-ula, Tuguän mountain
[103] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
oral nor written information concerning the founding of the
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[255 cont.]

792 175 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit. The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luṅ possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luṅ was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-maṅ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguän Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-maṅ-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luṅ received the official name Yu-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

792 [657] [256] Today the monastery is under the county government of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands, forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguän Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

[256 cont.]

a place for the cultivation of knowledge, and the fame of its learned Tulkus released the Tujen from their seclusion and drew them into the extensive domain of the Lamaistic world. The "Geography of Tibet," written in the Tibetan language by the Minchu Hutukhtu from the monastery sGo-maṅ-dgon around 1830, reports: "... the monastery dGon-luṅ, in which one counts up to 2,000 clerics and where formerly there lived: the two reincarnations lCaṅ-skya and Sum-pa mk'an-po, the author of the 'History of the Yellow Cap Doctrine, Žva-ser c'os byuṅ,' T'uu-bkvan bLo-bzaṅ C'os-kyi Ni-ma, and other important learned personalities"; see MS, p. 40.

The importance of the lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu has already been mentioned above on page 331. The first lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu was born in 1641 in Amdo. His ancestors came from a region called the "Gray Meadows" (communication from Mr. Unkrig). This place name has been transferred to the person (lcaṅ-skya = meadow-gray). The child was recognized as a reincarnation of the Dharmaśvamin of the monastery dGon-luṅ and was called there at the age of eight. Then the young Tulku was sent to inner Tibet for study and returned again to Amdo until Emperor Kang-hsi called him to Peking. In the service of the emperor and of Lamaism the hutukhtu led an active life as church politician and scholar. His travels led him into Mongolia, to Tibet and Amdo, where, for instance, in 1709 he reformed the program of studies in dGon-luṅ and other monasteries and installed several Grand Lamas. He died in 1713; cf. Schulemann, pp. 177 f., where also further sources for a more detailed orientation concerning the hutukhtu and his earlier existences are given. The lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu was counted among the four great church princes of Lamaism. He resided later in Peking, beside the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama in Tibet, and the Jibtsun-Dampa in Mongolia; see Pander, "Geschichte des Lamaismus," *ZfE*, 1889, p. (202). In the European literature his name became known above all through Pander-Grünwedel's book, which under the title *Das Pantheon des Tschang-tscha Chutuktu* offers a description of the world of the Lamaistic gods, which is based upon an

[*256 cont.*]

792 illustrated work by this hutukhtu.

The other incarnation from dGon-luṅ, namely, the Tuguãn Hutukhtu, is similarly famous. There is no explanation of this name. Perhaps it is a transference from the place to his person; it is better, however, to assume that the name of the mountain goes back to the hutukhtu, rather than the other way around. The Chinese way of writing the signs of this name [Illustrations *a* and *b* appear here] [*257*] varies as *T'u-kuan*, *Tou-kuang*, or *T'ou-kuang*, an indication that the phonetic imitation of a possibly Mongolic (Tujen) name, say, *Toġan*, is involved here. The Tibetan way of writing *T'uu-bkvan* is likewise quite strange, and therefore, according to Ch. Das, p. 577, the Mongolic name *Toġan* is rendered. As the first Tuguãn Hutukhtu, *Nag-dbaṅ c'os-kyi rgya-mts'o* was called to Peking under Emperor Yung-cheng; he was born in 1679 and died in 1735; see Schulemann, pp. 178 f. The best known is his subsequent incarnation, the above-mentioned author of the work of religious history concerning the various Lamaistic and pre-Lamaistic systems and the Yellow Church; cf. Filchner, *Kumbum*, p. 181. He is supposed to have lived from 1702-1775 (communication from Mr. Unkrig). The Tuguãn Tulkus likewise resided in Peking for the most part, whereby the relations to their tribal monastery dGon-luṅ did not suffer further; it is the case even today that many hutukhtus travel outside the country for years, in Tibet, India, Mongolia. In 1948, the present Tuguãn Hutukhtu, according to the statements of his relatives from the Ch'ang-kou, had already been in Nanking in the ministry as expert for the Lamaist border region for more than two years. Curiously enough, his relatives were of the opinion that nowadays the Tuguãn and lCan-skya (*Ch'ang-chia*) incar-
[775] nations are no longer differentiated and appear in only one representative. No clarification could be obtained from these statements. There seemed to be rivalries between the Li Clan and the Ch'ang Clan, who both claimed the incarnation succession.

In view of the pre-eminent position that these hutukhtus occupied in Peking, it is not surprising that many Tujen lamas

[256 cont.]

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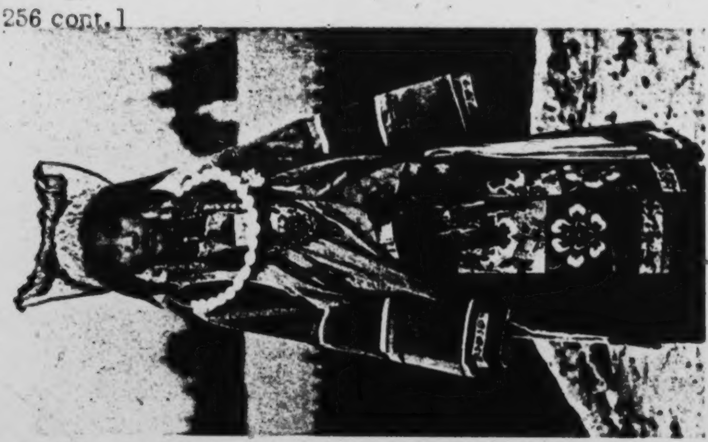

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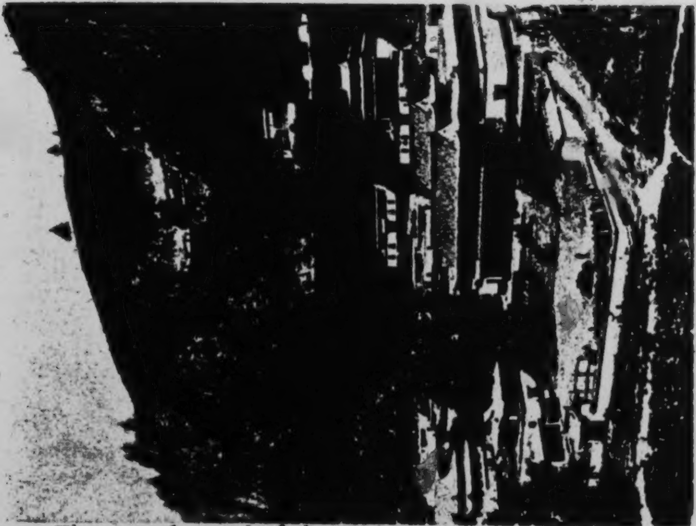

a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-laroñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress.
142 Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited;
292 the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth
301 bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen
531 princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or
Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples
in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however,
could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists,
and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander.
The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen
lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its
monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the
monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be
sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of
792 their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals
with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened
[796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they
[778] see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls
and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur
and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the
sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to ful-
fill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks
hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers.
They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their
compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate
the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest
in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every
[778] family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it
was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
however, the young people no longer want to know anything
792 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese
177 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise
the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
792 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ...
177 Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded
Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the
time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu,
Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one
thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then
one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the
doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the
Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to
the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uni-
form and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various
origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past
of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the
[779] middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and
Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation.
In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring
peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked
to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church.
Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen
alone. Their religion has a much more general significance.
To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite
conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the
people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any
individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources
for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

4: Schram
● 792
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AE9 MonguorAE9

[For the materials on the social function of religion in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 157A-159B.]

4: Schram
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AE9 Monguor AE9

[For information related to the organization of the lamaseries; internal social structure and its functions in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 37A-53B.]

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shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing 754
to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor 782
clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing
rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy [795
Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional 792]
scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming
to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them
Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist
rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? 779
Lamaism occupies the privileged position, 792
and has been an overwhelming influence in the country
of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout
the country, there is a monastery. As many as three
hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others
thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand.
The monasteries are the only imposing buildings
in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders,
owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and
cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese
officials because of the protection bestowed upon them
by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence
they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, 602
a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. 792
Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious 614
institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters 175
of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be
Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries
in his territory and granted large property rights to
them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries
of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu
built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the
center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of
each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of
some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout
the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. [796]
The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at
the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder
the people follow the example set by their chief and
adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism
throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example
set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as
the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan
Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas,
reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to
be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

829
Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, 771
the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and
occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly
is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

[p. 6(B)]

understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things
which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a
very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe
that each of these religions is right, and practice them
according to their various circumstances of life. While
their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited
and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually devel-
oped. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this
carelessness concerning differences between religions
and philosophical principles? Our illusions and mis-
understandi~~ngs occur~~ because we compare the conver-
sion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors
with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient
times, and assume that a similar change of mind took
place among the Monguors. We envision churches
filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving
instructions about definite dogmas, children attending
parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion,
and being educated in their belief, and we also envision
a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious
sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of
Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 792
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and in-
struct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools
for children; nor is anything done to provide serious
religious education for the people. Lamaists are like
stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a
pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the
faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and
principles were instilled in the minds of prospective
converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of
other religions was explained. The prospective con-
verts were taught that they must live according to the
principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they
would have to change from their way of life to the
Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings,
habits, and way of thinking. None of these things
are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the
faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order
to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not
care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the
shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the
Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother,
for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some
money. Shamans are considered the most potent men
in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be
the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites.
Consequently, the two religions are considered equally
necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

[p. 7(A)]

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong 771
among the Monguors and over the whole country, that 756
even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact 175
concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first 771
was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. 792
Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scy- 175
thians to support the assertion of the profession of Bud- 771
dhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

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[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the 175
Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became 771
unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, [177]
were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread 175
into the country in the first centuries of our era, because 792
the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' "

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou.* In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

> the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao,* 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient,* 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.,* 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques,* 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

[p. 8(B)]

According to this text, Han-yin does not report having seen the temple between 401 and 439. He notes only the text of the *Shui-ching-chu,* an earlier geographical work, probably completed before A.D. 265, by an unknown author and largely commented and expanded by Li Tao-Yüan on the basis of his own studies and observations. He died in 527.[4] Han-yin consequently used the original edition of the *Shui-ching-chu* and thus the fact of the existence of the vestiges of the ruined temple (or temples) of the "Earth Tower" before A.D. 265 is evidenced. The *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-Yüan notes *verbatim* the same text (p. 24*b*), adding: ". . . when Han-yin says, 'on the northern side of Hsi-p'ing is the temple of the "Earth Tower,"' he refers to this temple."

NOT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The original *Shui-ching-chu* in mentioning, "the temple of the 'Earth Tower' uses the term *Shen-ssu* for "temple." This term is not specific for temples devoted to the worship of Buddha, but rather is used to designate temples devoted to sacrifices to ancestors or to the spirits in general. The text notes that the vestiges of the "temple" were still existing in 265.

The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 notes the existence of the *Pei Ch'an-ssu,* "the northern temple of contemplation," also called *Yung-hsing-ssu,* "temple of eternal inspiration," situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city at the foot of the "Earth Tower Mountain." The name of "Earth Tower Mountain," situated five *li* north of the city, was still well known in 1912; the temple was still called *Pei Ch'an-ssu,* which eliminates any doubt concerning the identity of the location of the temple called by these three names.[5] In 1912 a steep winding path led to the temple, which was a deep cavern, and some smaller ones, dug half way up the mountain side. A large, elaborate veranda constituted the entrance. Inside the cavern were statues of Lu tung-ping, Ho-hu-yeh, Ma-wang, and Niu-wang. It is certain that the temple was a Taoist temple. An old Taoist, living in one of its small rooms, took care of it, collecting some grain in autumn from the neighboring farmers and enjoying his job.

IT IS ACTUALLY CALLED PEI CH'AN-SSU

Ch'an-ssu suggests that the builders of the temple belonged to the Dhyana sect, diffused in China by Buddhidharma, an Indian or Iranian Buddhist missionary, who arrived only in A.D. 520 (?) and died in 535.[6] The

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[4] A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* 2: 970 sq., note by Dr. Hu Shih and *passim* the references concerning the *Shui-ching-chu* in Vols. 1–11 (see "Index of Books," in Hummel, *op. cit.*).

[5] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih,* ch. 39, p. 16*a*, erroneously notes: "130 *li* west of the city of Hsi-p'ing is the mountain of the Earth-tower, at its base is the temple (*Shen-ssu*) of the Earth-tower."

[6] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 299–300, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

175 792 temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-ssu* would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

175 771 797 Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" between A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120–162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] [113] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

175 The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). [633] In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

175 771 [793] It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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[113] border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

[p. 10(A)]

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed 175 by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there 771 existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or [792] monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities [184] did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account [798] of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of 175 Hsining 113 relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

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[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, ". . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

[P. 11(B)]

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period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[25] [792]

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[25] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* **44**: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River." But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou, Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: ". . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

[p. 12(B)]

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. 175 792 At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari?

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. 175 It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. [792] Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940.

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, 175 771 the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YÜAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. 175 They found a few

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31, p. 2*b*). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, ***Lokalkulturen*** 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: [103] "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region.

[p.13(A)]

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, 175
the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, 771
Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was [184]
limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TĀ-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded 175
in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the 792
monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, 346
with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana." [33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the [771]
celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

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[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[32] *Ibid.*, 96.

[33] *Ibid.*, 92.

[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175 rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114 which all the temples were to be confiscated and converted 792 into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser ~~of the~~ two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning monasteries 175 built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792 lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[35] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792 lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346] buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'u-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding mountainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792 hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [346] top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[34]

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[35] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175 was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792 where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792 portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578 Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [691] of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[34] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat-Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15(A)]

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma 792
Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most promi- 578
nent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and
Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan
Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in
Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the 792
sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, 627
fought and two men were killed. The governor of the
province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the
lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being
acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the ques-
tion amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling
lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were de-
termined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long
period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated
over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were
hallowed places, because it was there that the founder
of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained
for more than ten years. He protested that by digging
at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would
be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made in-
evitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a 175
way was found to settle the case, by promising that no 771
more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; 792
but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would
be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the
deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the
veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the
lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367).
More traditions exist about monasteries having been
built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas,
but they are vague and no names or specific places are
indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not im-
possible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted
in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery
of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans re-
veals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among
the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-
fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li [622
T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the 624]
Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monas-
teries constructed by them, although we do not know
when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that
the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung,
and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas
was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-
chung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered 175
over the country. The lack of historical data does not 771
permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism 792
during the Yüan period.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the 175
wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and pro- 662
moting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, 771
in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions.

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Vice-regent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

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[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.*

[p. 16(A)]

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648
13*b*) that 662

> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
>
> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
> barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 772
> order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
> the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good 175
will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes 554
into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high 792
appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la 662
in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

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[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p.17(A)]

REASONS FOR THIS POLICY

175
792
554
662

The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the [622] tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naively notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

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other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p, 17(B)]

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled 792
the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher 662
of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." 175
(This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.)

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang- 175
chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: 792
the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. 554
Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting 793
of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them.

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest. 175 792 554 793

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[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[45] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

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[45] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

[p. 18(B)]

suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they 175
refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked 792
the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. 554
The request was readily granted, and an arrangement 793
was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa[46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

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[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its
temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- [651]
ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing 554
the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received 428
his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which 792
Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.[47]

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

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[47] The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 88: 12–13).

[p.20(B)]

The principles on which succession by reincarnation are founded 792 had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally 795 applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY 775

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism 792 in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many 346 monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. *7b* and *8a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. *4b* and *5a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

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[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237. [p.21(A)]

the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 175
(ch. 31, p. 15*a*). 792

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these 346
five poor items. Huth notes[51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid 538
with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor

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[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were 539
seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors.

There are displayed in the head temple three fine 538
saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley.

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chün, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[54]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three 792
temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 346

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[54] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

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yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples. 792 346

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha [532] statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the [782] third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously.

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries: /

[p. 23(A)]

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, 792 and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was 346 the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 175 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The 792 Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that 346 because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-kulung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery 175 of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is 792 situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery 578 granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at [775] the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p.23(B)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung 792
where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. 342
This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, 175
the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors [771
toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and 797]
privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in
the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for 792
this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and 175
the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong 175
khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of 771
his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59]

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[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.

[56] *Ibid.*, 40.

[57] *Ibid.*, 58.

[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.

[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p24(B)]

The support and protection of the Mongols and of 175
the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow 648
Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717– 771
1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and [779]
destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in 175
Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the 792 ●
late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated 346
monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dsón dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

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[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, [792
the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its 137
precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see 755]
Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge-naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p.25(A)]

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, 175
the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meet- 792
ing with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yel- 346
low Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. 771
It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, *227*). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way 175
to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Ku- 792
kunor, where he remained for three months without 346
even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

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[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

[p.25(B)]

tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong 175 khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 792 ●

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*[71] notes that the series 346 of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery 775 of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed.

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact 175 that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor 792 cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama 346 Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery.

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 175 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the com- 214 mittee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books 814 into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by

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the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun, (Frontier Affairs)* 3 (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

[p.26(A)]

Achia.' "[74] However, the myth of his previous exist- 175
ences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous exist- 214
ence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the 814
Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75]

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the 175
lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries 662
of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a 792 ●
less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha.

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, 175
there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery 792
of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 346

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[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. 175
Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. "*dGon*" means a hermitage, 772
hence a monastery; "*lung*" means valley—the 346
hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung*; the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. 772
The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280- 539
1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Saskya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of 792
alms to the lamas. 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-niang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have 175
been less miraculous. The construction of the mon- 792
astery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery.

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama [79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of

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[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibl[illegible]iginated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya, Jonanpa, Shanpa, Digun*

the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and 175
was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end 772
of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[62] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680[63] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha.

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, 175
protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was 648
to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles*, the question, "*Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?*"[64] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would

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Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa, Bulugpa,* were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa, Dso-gchyenpa, Chhyay Chhempa,* and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya.*

[62] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 12.

[63] *Idem* 3 (5) : 12.

[64] *Annales de l'université de Lyon,* n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

[p.28(A)]

be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.[85] 175 648

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF EHR-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet. 175 792

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

[p. 28(B)]

monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the 175
three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, 792
will be briefly described.

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia~~, having~~ scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, [554]
the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The

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[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, 48: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

[p.29(A)]

emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great 175
Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; 792
he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar.

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already 175
raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, 792
was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring 648
to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and 554
diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor.

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

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[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien*, 93.

[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the 175
lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their de- 792
votion went so far as to make them struggle and com- 648
pete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang- 554
chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang- [778]
chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appoint- [814]
ment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an 175
agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for 648
Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than 792
the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634; the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

[p. 30(A)]

Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and 775
that the English allowed everyone to follow his re- 648
ligion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that 792
the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,' " 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in

T'u-kuan Hutukhtu

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of 175
his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama 792
of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal.
With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the

Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717–1786) was still a boy, living in Huang chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723). The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736–1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan [814] books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II). From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737–1802) (p. 158).

The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789–1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this [814] prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be

co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures 175
of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over 792
the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huangchung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation [775]
of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang- [554]
chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a dip- 175
lomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the 792
upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to 648
Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

[p. 31 (B)]

the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important 175 monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] 792 He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet 648 and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia. [554]

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzań C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects,* which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this [114] work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, 175 the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. 792 Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia

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[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* **50** and **51**, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 148–149.

[p.32(A)]

and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations 175
which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must 792
have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the mon- [346]
astery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet.*[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* **58**, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: ". . . the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

[p.32(B)]

The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who 175
wrote about all the important subjects related to the 792
curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113]

The two Living Buddhas, Chie 'bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang- 175
chung, and especially upon the country north of the 771
Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and 792
its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-t'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River.

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku- 175
lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent 792
man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta-

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each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 16.

[114] *Idem* 1: 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

[p. 33(A)]

t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116]

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, [554] celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia[122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Yao, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries[124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

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[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45; 3 (4) 10; 5: 13*a*.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.*, 283.

[121] *Ibid.*, 288.

[122] *Ibid.*, 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46*b* and 47*a*.

three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries es- 175
tablished north of the Hsining River and in the pre- 792
fectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-
chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries
and were built between 1604 and 1723.

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

> The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the [212]
> patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the
> development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of 771
those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes.

The country was at peace and the future filled with 175
the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus 579
on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crum- 771
bled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with

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[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242.

[p. 34 (A)]

its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious 175
force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, 579
stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 771
villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of [792]
Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng,* ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner; that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu; Shih-lu, Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

[p.34(B)]

sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 175
1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth[135] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says[136] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[137] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[138]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang- 175
chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic 792
as the repression itself. They show that the emperor 579
was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

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[135] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[136] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[137] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[138] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1) : 47.

[p. 35 (8)]

each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum 175
of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 792
The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and 579
prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huangchung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 175
to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still ex- 792
isted. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re-

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[139] *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7*a*; *Tung-hua-lu, Yung cheng, op. cit.* 4: 34–36.

[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12*a*.

[p. 36(A)]

175 792 constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off.

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

175 792 578 The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain.

175 792 [578] 346 Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas-

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[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

[P.36 (B)]

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished 792
and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid 346
palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious
palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was
the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas,
2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its
wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence
and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of
the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen,
for it had been a long time since an expedition
had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan
in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had
collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which
were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred 175
in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met
with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch
monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community
of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand
the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural
city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation.
The lama community urged that he be
erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the
right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For
several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with
the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed
all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and
honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and
the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that
Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates.
This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious
Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to
Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916,
his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who
was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son
of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man
made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he
was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan
yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent
reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having 175
a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha
Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of
Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the
winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting
was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

[p.37(A)]

friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

revindication of the autonomy of Kumbum by Achia 175
sharply confirms the trend of mind of the Monguor 792
lamas concerning the autonomy of their monasteries.

Not a single lamasery in Huang-chung was founded by the Dalai Lama. Kumbum was founded in 1560 by the lama, Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, and his ten disciples of their own accord. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, sent a lama to invite the Monguors of Erh-ku-lung to be so kind as to build a monastery in their country.

Seerkok had been ruined and burned to the ground. The chief lama was beheaded in 1723. Seerkok having no more leaders, the Dalai Lama sent the learned lama, Tsanpo, who was studying at Lhasa, to rebuild the monastery. He bestowed upon Tsanpo the title of Nomum-khan, and recommended him to the emperor. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu. Lhasa no longer cared for Seerkok because it was autonomous, having its own chief.

The other monasteries throughout the whole region were institutions of the Red Sect, such as Ch'ü-t'an, which was founded by the lama San La. Most of them later adhered to the Yellow Sect but maintained their independence. However, some small ties seem to link the lamaseries of Huang-chung to Lhasa. Upon the death of the Hutukhtus of Huang-chung, Lhasa is asked to designate three names to be placed in the golden urn at Peking. One name is drawn from the golden urn thereby determining the new incarnation. However, the three names required for the new incarnation of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu are supplied by his friend, the grand lama of Labrang. The recognition of the incarnation of all the other Living Buddhas of Huang-chung who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu is attested to by the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung. Confirmation of this recognition by a minor Living Buddha is sufficient to establish the Living-Buddhahood of lamas deemed by their confreres to fulfill the requirements *ad hoc*.

For more than a century (1600 to 1723) the relations between the monasteries of Huang-chung and Lhasa had been really important, because of the imposing array of learned scholars of Erh-ku-lung who taught in the most important lamaseries of Lhasa, the lamas of Huang-chung who performed their studies at Lhasa, and the several diplomatic missions of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus sent by the emperors to the Dalai Lamas.

It is not hard to understand why Lhasa displayed so little interest in the monastery of Kumbum. The reason is that Kumbum was autonomous. The Third Dalai Lama paid a short visit to Kumbum for the first time in 1583. He insisted on the founding of a school for the explanation of the sacred texts. In 1723 the chief lama of Kumbum was the fateful mK'ampo Nomun-Khan, nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin. He received his title of Nonun-Khan from the Dalai Lama.

From 1715 until 1720 the Seventh Dalai Lama was 175
confined at Kumbum by the emperor. Several visits 792
to Kumbum, made by the Dalai Lama or the Pan-chen Lama on their way to Peking, have to be added in order to complete the scheme of the relations between the two monasteries.

These facts suffice to prove that the relations between the lamaseries of Huang-chung and the Dalai Lama were of courtesy, friendship, and helpfulness, not those of subordinates with superiors. The independence from Lhasa of the lamaseries of Huang-chung is evidenced by their independence in managing their affairs. Each had its supreme chief, who was the recognized proprietor.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LAMASERIES

Each monastery has a supreme chief who is the recognized 792
proprietor of the lamasery and the initial territory granted by the emperor or T'u-ssu for the establishment of the monastery. He is the proprietor of the temples and buildings built by him or his previous incarnations, and of the alms offered to it. In Huang-chung the supreme chiefs of monasteries are all Living Buddhas. At present some of them are minor, others major Living Buddhas. In Kumbum, Achia Hutukhtu is the supreme chief of the monastery; in Seerkok, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu. In Erh-ku-lung there are three supreme chiefs, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa, but actually T'u-kuan Hutukhtu alone governs the whole monastery because of the historical circumstances already recorded. Minor Living Buddhas are Buddhas who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu, granted by the emperor, and whose name, usually, is not recorded in the files of the Li Fan Yüan in Peking. Minor Living Buddhas, in order to live inside the walls of the great monastery and to build a palace, must obtain the permission of the supreme chief; they are considered as guests of the lamasery.

The supreme chief is responsible before the Chinese administration for his subjects' crimes or murders committed in his monastery, or in his domain. He appoints the superiors of the various institutions established inside the monastery and in the branches. In time of trouble between the various institutions he tries to mediate. The extent to which he interferes with subordinates depends not on institutional regulations, but simply on whether he is personally a meddlesome character.

In monasteries the "community of the lamas" is a recognized autonomous unit, with its own wealth, properties (herds, fields, subjects, etc.), administration. It has its own right to bring suit in the Chinese courts, and to establish subsidiaries, whose administrators depend upon it and not upon the supreme chief. The community of Erh-ku-lung has three such subsidiaries: Ta-ssu, Hsiao-ssu, and Hsiao Erh-ku-lung. It was the lama community of Erh-ku-lung that brought suit 792 against Sumpa and spent the money for the trial, not T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, who would not interfere to prevent the scandal.

The colleges or faculties in monasteries are also recog- [794] nized autonomous units, with their own administration, properties, wealth, gifts, alms, and the right of suing in Chinese courts. I do not have any record of colleges possessing branches, but I suppose they do.

What bond binds these disparate elements together? Usually a Living Buddha who is the supreme chief of a lamasery is honored by the lamas, who know that he is always ready and braced to defend the rights of the institution, like Achia at Kumbum. When the communities or colleges meet with financial troubles, they know that the supreme chief uses his own wealth to make donations to them—"help provided makes sympathy wax." Nevertheless, each institution has its own administration, and the supreme chief does not interfere with its jurisdiction. The governing board of each institution confers with the supreme chief on the appointment of administrative officers and on such matters as the invitation to be sent when a new Fa-t'ai is needed.

If troubles arise the board of the autonomous institution takes advice from the supreme chief, and many difficulties are thus avoided. Finally, the supreme chief has the right to dismiss recalcitrant members, but if an entire group persists in standing up for its rights, and threatens to bring suit in the Chinese court or to quit the monastery, the supreme chief can rarely prevail against them. Nobody can prevent a lama or a group of lamas from quitting a monastery; no vows or bonds tie the lamas to any monastery. Undoubtedly, a great amount of kindness and devotion on the part of the supreme chief toward the members of the monastery is required. This is the real keystone of an effective administration in monasteries whose elements are so loosely united.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAMASERIES: MATERIAL ASPECTS

The administration of a lamasery is complex. In order to get a better insight into the matter the material aspects will be dealt with first, and then the religious and educational.

OFFICIALS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES

Most Living Buddhas who are supreme chiefs of monasteries live in retirement in their palaces, and are happy to entrust the entire material administration of the institution to a lama intendant, for whom the Tibetan term is Tsuordzi and the Chinese term, Hsiang tso. The few exceptions who are meddlers with the administration are well known throughout the country, and that kind of Living Buddha usually does not get very far with his intendant.

[p. 39(A)]

The appointment of the lama intendant is an act of 792 overriding importance and far-reaching consequences. The supreme chief himself chooses a capable, loyal, and dependable lama and appoints him as Intendant of the Monastery—not of the community of lamas, or of the colleges. The appointment is indefinite and can be transferred to another lama at the will of the supreme chief. Usually, however, it lasts for a lifetime. The intendant is a man of confidence on whom the supreme chief relies completely. He occupies a large courtyard of the administrative buildings constructed in the center of the monastery. The instruments of torture displayed at the gate of his courtyard indicate that he rules its court of justice and is its chief executive by appointment of the proprietor of the monastery.

All important administrative questions of the monastery are discussed between the supreme chief and his intendant: the invitation of the Fa-t'ai's proposed by the boards of the community of lamas and of the colleges, the appointment of procurators and of lay intendants; matters concerning the subjects, the villages, and branches of the monastery; and troubles between lamas or within the community of lamas or the colleges. The intendant knows the lamas of merit and the intrigues, competitions and factions among them. He is invited to attend the meetings between the supreme chief and the boards of the colleges and the community of lamas. Because he is a man of experience, and usually of long residence at that particular lamasery, his advice is respected and usually followed. The ability to mediate is even more important than the manner of authority.

The intendant must be a man who knows the Chinese 792 officials and the intricacies of the courts of justice. He 648 sends the seasonal gifts to the Chinese officials, visits them to knit friendship with them, and knows who among them is well or ill disposed toward the monastery. He also knows the influential persons in the city who are friends of the officials, and who among them can be used if need be for the benefit of the monastery by exerting their influence upon the officials. He visits such people occasionally during the year to offer them gifts, in order to have a foot in the door when needed. Lamas know very well that "Justice cannot stand on its own feet, it needs to be supported and steadied." The intendant must be a man who can see farther ahead than ordinary naive and ignorant lamas and is able, therefore, to dissuade them from bringing lawsuits.

The intendant of the monastery alone disposes of all 792 the wealth of the monastery (not of the wealth of the community of the lamas or of the colleges), its revenues, investment of capital, loans, gifts, and alms received (but not of alms given to the community of lamas or to the colleges). He has to cope with all the expenses of the monastery, and to try to increase the collection of gifts and alms. He is in charge of the provisioning of the monastery, and must see that the procurator secures

[p. 39 (B)]

the colossal amounts of butter that a monastery requires. In the temples of Erh-ku-lung eight butter lamps burn before the statues day and night. Each lamp consumes 180 pounds of butter every year, making 1,440 pounds for the eight lamps. The intendant told me that every year he had to provide a total of more than 3,000 pounds of butter for lamps, kitchen, and tea, and had to send lamas to Kukunor and Mongolia in order to collect this enormous amount. The intendant, in short, is the biggest cog in the wheel of administration. A visitor must inquire for him and pay him a visit, for it is he who cares for visitors and pilgrims of note.

It is easy to understand why it pays to have an experienced intendant, one who creates good relations with the outside Chinese world, acquires benefactors for the monastery, maintains control of the inside world of the monastery and has sufficient influence to be successful in the office, but these things cannot be realized in a few months.

The choice of an intendant who is capable is usually easy, but it is not so easy to find a lama who is, at the same time, capable and always loyal and dependable. Because so much power is vested in him it is not exceptional to encounter an intendant who is getting too big for his britches, stirring up trouble and acting as if none of the rules of the monastery existed for him. He disposes of so much wealth that it is almost impossible to control his financial transactions, and many intendants pile up their own comfortable fortune. They know all the liabilities and the debts of the monastery; they enjoy too much personal influence in Chinese administrative circles, and when things go wrong they can pull many wires in order to save themselves or even to harm the monastery. It is not easy to handle intendants, and it is more difficult to dismiss them, according to the sayings of experienced old lamas.

Next to the intendant comes the procurator (nirwa, in Tibetan; Takuan-chia, in Chinese). He also is appointed by the supreme chief of the monastery, in consultation with the intendant. The appointment is for three or five years, and may be renewed. The procurator supplies the personal needs of the Living Buddha, and under the supervision of the intendant he administers the internal affairs of the intendancy, including the board and jobs of servants, upkeep of buildings, stables, and equipment. He organizes the expeditions that go out to collect alms in Mongolia and Kukunor, keeps the accounts of the collection of revenues and of the corvées imposed on monastery subjects, and judges minor lawsuits. He discusses with the intendant the small loans granted to subjects or other people, dispenses the alms distributed to lamas. He is in fact the lieutenant and usually the protégé of the intendant, through whom he has obtained his appointment from the Living Buddha. If an intendant and his procurator are in collusion, they can easily dupe the supreme chief for a long time. [p.40(A)]

The procurator in turn has an assistant (htie wa, in Tibetan and erh kuan chia, in Chinese), who helps him at the job. He is appointed or dismissed by the Living Buddha at the same time as his superior. The servants under the procurators vary in numbers according to the importance of the monastery. At Erh-ku-lung there are thirty lama servants and ten lay servants.

Two lay intendants are also appointed by the Living Buddha. It is customary, after three years, that they present their resignation, which is accepted or refused. Their duties are more honorary than executive. When the Living Buddha goes on a journey they accompany him as masters of his retinue. Under the empire a blue button adorned the top of their hats. They take care of the impedimenta. Arriving at a destination at night, they take care of all necessities at the inn, and then take the visiting card of the Buddha to the Chinese official of the village or the city. [574] The intendant sends them to the city to bring gifts or to greet the officials when he is unable to do it himself, and he delegates them to mediate in the villages.

When the personal wealth of the supreme chief is great enough, he appoints a private intendant and procurator to administer it.

The minor Living Buddhas who are guests, living at the monastery, have their own administration. It is more or less personal, according to their wealth (subsidiaries, villages, herds), and according to their own propensity for caring for their business. Their intendants do not enjoy such influence as the intendants of the important monasteries.

The material side of the administration of the communities of the lamas and of the colleges is identical, consisting of an intendant and procurator chosen by them but approved by the supreme chief. Their intendants are important personages who care for the wealth of the community or the college, investment of capital, revenues of villages, sale or purchase of land, herds, relations with the Chinese administration, suits at the court of justice, judgment of the suits of subjects, care of the subsidiaries and gifts. These procurators provide the food used at the meetings, and supervise the upkeep of the buildings and temples of the community of lamas and the colleges, and of the palaces of their Fa-t'ai's. They manage the expeditions to Mongolia and Kukunor for the collection of alms, distribute the share of alms offered to the lamas of the community or to the colleges, and the collection of the revenues of lands. They are appointed by the supreme chief on the joint recommendation of his own intendant and the board of the community or the college. The intendant of a community of lamas or of a college is therefore always the protégé of the superintendent, although the administration of the community and of the colleges is at the same time institutionally autonomous.

These notes give an insight on the personnel used for the material administration of the Monguor monasteries

and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

[p.41(A)]

old Li would not budge. The whole community was 792
humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li 691
and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable 628
to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all
over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its 688
inmates. 792

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, 691
supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, 578

[p.41(B)]

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*) [1] by the 688
Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of 792
the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic 578
official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a 691
comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the 792
Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang- 578
ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two 628
Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

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[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

[p.42(A)]

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions 792
suggested to end the feud.[2] 578

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable in- 628
tendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their 792
death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their 428
entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased.

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and pro- 792
tested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went 691
to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in 428
order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and

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[2] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p.42(B)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue. 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the
Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok,
prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two
or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000
taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away
the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697]
of the monastery and manacled. After two months he
agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p. 43(A)]

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept 792
secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely 788
on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants.

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large 792
domains were granted to the monasteries to provide 423
their means of subsistence. In former times it was 643
easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a 434
sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3]

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been
considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain [256]
mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain.

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[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo.

[p.43 (B)]

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh- 792
ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 423
45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] [651]
Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents
from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants 434
of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his
herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was [643]
written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung
received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the 175
first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received 643
wide domains so that it was able to build the two large 792
branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* 423
of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty 434
large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to 175
understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 651
could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, har- 792
bored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after 434
the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent 792
of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner 427
received them; but it was customary that the govern- 651
ment receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants, 434

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[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.

[5] *Ibid.*, 143.

[6] *Ibid.*, 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, 143.

[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

[p.144(A)]

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant dis- 792
appeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and ac- 434
company the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys [492]
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas [804]
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the ca-
pacity of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of ex- 792
tensive territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by [311
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, be- 434
cause the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many in- 792
tendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The mon- 792
astery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative busi- 792
ness. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed [438]
on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still 434
enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are 651
exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha.

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests— 792
Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce 434
in the northern part of the province, forests are an im- 314
portant source of revenue.

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has 792
been recorded. For many years it was a source of large 434
revenue, which finally caused its ruin. [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous 505
Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers 175
across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma?

For many years during the period of my stay, the 792
young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most 334
talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792
Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he 334
was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792
source of revenue. They last for several months and 434
are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431
behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had
lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [427]
bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court. [p.45(B)]

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 484
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by
their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [651]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dispose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section.

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: *"Chiu ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama,"* meaning "even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him"; also, *"lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la,"* meaning "It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman," because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material administration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges. 792

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had compelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920. 792 651

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries. 792

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order 622

[p.47(A)]

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622 military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792 subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566 their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792 their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the 427 farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566 continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585] consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

[p. 47 (B)]

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which com- 792
pels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas 571
of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour.

The intendancies urge the observance of this service 792
even by former tributaries, but it does not always 571
work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary 796
of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the 578
intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy.

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects 792
of the intendancies are ordered by their respective in- 466
tendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées.

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a 792
long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the 484
chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 651

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries. [p.48(B)]

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

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The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

[168
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In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride.

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

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175
692
[643]

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed

[p.49(A)]

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and 792
Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of 175
torture are still displayed at lama courts), and im- 692
prisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées.

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the 792
groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth 175
flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, 425
the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built 426
oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country.

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and 792
in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not 175
be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the 651
tumult of the world, were in olden times the most ani- 427
mated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at
the monasteries. They were attended by all the people [554
of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, 443]
singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun

[p.49(B)]

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and corvées, 792
and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

[p.50(A)]

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [68]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

However, no compulsory religious instruction was pro- 175
vided for adults or children in order to make the sub- 792
jects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institu- 794
tions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs.

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid 175
increase in the founding and branching out of monas- 792
teries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs.

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.*

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*H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

[p. 51(A)]

BRANCH LAMASERIES

175 792 It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS

175 792 794 The first act of the founder of a branch was to appoint a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by

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concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, coproprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

[p. 51(B)]

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. 175
They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was 792
killed and a dinner enjoyed. 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

175
An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess 792
a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, 571
assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was 794
not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder.

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey 175
or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, 792
the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. 484
When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan,
traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed [554]
the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes.

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

175
How did the subsidiaries become independent? The 792
tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao- 794
ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 571

[p.52(A)]

tragic events seldom happen, independence is never 175
acquired without friction between the daughter and 792
mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the 794
crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue 571
required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life.

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

[p.52(B)]

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of 175
Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The com- 792
munity of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its 571
own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder.

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer 175
have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained 792
by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only 701
record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Sha-chün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con-

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. 175
However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were 792
in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the 701
Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for
fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the
depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the
revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have
armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in
1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of
the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular
armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except
Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries 800
and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in 643
Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had 175
established three important lamaseries and granted vast 792
domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the 622
monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua
100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas.
Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller
monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

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[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p.53(B)]

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had 643
appointed the administrator, who was killed. 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i 792
T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them 622
to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMASERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer 175
the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the 177
revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

[p. 54(A)]

gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173
starts losing its identity, no more children become 177
lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no
more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a
Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [871]
with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert
a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend
Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175
vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792
of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia,* well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

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[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas,* 98. New York, Century, 1891.

[p.54(B)]

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are 175 encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concern- 792● ing Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and la- 162 maseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the [431] lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas who attended the morning ceremonies in the central 175 hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates 792 of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact 162 led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few [164] months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining **16**: *6b*, *9a*, *10a*, *12a*.

[p. 55 (A)]

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li 175 T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the 792 recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: "*Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama*" meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

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[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun,* No. 1: 1 and 2, 1948. [p. 55(B)]

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175
old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792
Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and
disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578]
lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas
in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608]
monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p.56(A)]

Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad 175
time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his 792
disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son.

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE 175

On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monas- 792
tery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama 571
the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng[5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee.*[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to commit the texts to memory, punishments being inflicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. 792 874 No haste or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

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[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-bzun—Gelüng.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second 782 vows and is called *Gelüng*. 792 According to the rules, the vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a [484] lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious 792 education is complete. 874 The lama can then read a text more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

[p. 57(B)]

ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director 792
and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. 874
There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave 792
his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. 571
A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not
always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the [867]
education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the short- 792
comings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, 867
the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of 571
pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who

772 867 571

talk of commerce and business deals, and about the interesting places they have visited. In this way the youngsters come to know about a great deal of unedifying material which they discuss, with relish and interest, when they meet outside the monastery, and so the spirit of commercial adventure is cultivated in them, and the passion to see places and to wander. This poisoned atmosphere, woven around them, has a pernicious bearing on their careers. In the long run, the young lama receives his education outside the monastery in the groups of unrestrained young lamas, and in the evening at the home of his master when old lamas talk unguardedly. In the Orient there are no secrets.

In 1913 I was a guest at the monastery of Hsien-mi. One night the rich intendant of the community of lamas arrived after an absence of three weeks. His two disciples, sixteen and nineteen years of age, had disappeared after being beaten by him for insubordination. Finally, he had found them at the monastery of Shih-men, five days distant from Hsien-mi. By dint of promises he had succeeded in bringing them back home. Two days later I arrived at the monastery of Chu-erh. Two pupils had just undergone a terrible ordeal. One had stolen 50 taels from his master and the other had concealed the stolen money. Punishments were inflicted on both the thief and his accomplice with ruthless severity.

The old rector of the branch of Hua-Yüan-ssu, depending on Erh-ku-lung, had borrowed from a rich Monguor 200 taels. Trusting his pupil, thirty-six years of age, he had sent him with the money to the Monguor. Three months later the Monguor again asked for his money. Then the pupil disappeared and the rector had to pay the sum again. A year later the pupil returned and apologized. The rector was happy to see him again.

An old, sick, asthmatic lama, a friend of mine, came to get some medicine. His young pupil, sixteen years of age (this was his second disciple), had come back after wandering for a year. The asthmatic old man had implored him not to act in that way any more, and had promised to give him a horse and to defray all the expenses of a trip to Lhasa, after he reached his twentieth year of age.[7]

The disappearance of the young lamas is the greatest concern of the old lamas. Punishment is enough to make them leave. Often two or three young men, lured by adventure, decide to abandon their masters and disappear, taking their leave for months or years. The masters, not knowing whether they will return, cannot make provision to search for another pupil, for in case a master's pupil should return, and in the meantime another pupil had been taken on, suit could be brought in the Chinese courts by the former pupil to obtain the wealth of the master and a definite separation.

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[7] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 36, 37, more about this matter.

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law." 772 571 691

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background. 772 571

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama. 772 157

In the very early morning the master awakens his pupil, who prepares tea. He presents a cup of tea to his master and enjoys one with him. In the winter he kindles the brazier. Then he sweeps the courtyard while his master rises. He brings him a basin of hot water, so that he may wash his face. He wipes the dust from the house altar and the furniture, and prepares the ritual tea to be offered before the Buddha image (a yellow powder consisting of several kinds of pounded roots mixed with water). The master fills the brass cups, displayed in a row before the image, taking care not to spill a single drop outside the cup. Master and pupil recite the ritual prayer, prostrating themselves as long as the prayer lasts. Fervent lamas are accustomed to make 108 prostrations with their pupil. Everyone assured me that this is really hard work, especially in wintertime. 792 157

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[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

[p.59(A)]

After the ritual the pupil empties the brass cups, pouring out the ritual tea in the courtyard in a place assumed to be clean, and cleans the cups. About this time the conches are blown and the drums beaten in the central assembly hall, and master and pupil go to attend the morning ceremony. They then come back to their quarters, and, after driving the oxen and horses to pasture, the pupil places the text book on the lap of his master and then with his back turned to the master recites the lesson indicated for that day. If he fails, the master inflicts corporal punishment and fixes the lesson for the next day. The pupil then prepares breakfast, after which he goes out to collect fuel. He is back at noon in order to serve tea and tsamba to his master. The ritual tea is offered again before the images, with prostrations, and the pupil, free for the whole afternoon, is then allowed to relax with his friends outside the monastery. He has to be back by the time the sun is as high as two posts, in order to prepare the evening meal of noodles and tea, which the master enjoys sitting on the k'ang while his pupil squats on the floor. After the kitchen chores are finished and the animals tended, the pupil starts memorizing texts for the next morning. When it is time to go to bed, a last and third ritual tea is offered, with prostrations, before the image on the house altar, and master and pupil sleep next to each other on the k'ang. A pupil is never allowed to go to bed before his master.

During the long winter nights, in order to have an idea of the time, the good lamas fix three sticks of incense, end to end. To the third stick is attached a thread with copper coins. This device is suspended above a basin. When the third stick has burned down, the thread with the coins falls into the basin. The lama awakes and kindles a new series of three sticks of incense. He repeats this process a third time. When the coins fall for the third time the pupil is awakened and he starts the day's chores as before. If it happens that, when master and pupil are ready to attend the morning ceremony, the dawn is still some way off, they return to their slumbers; but if it is at hand they must, ac- [805]

[p.59 (B)]

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

792

Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

[p.60(A)]

proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the 792 farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines.

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees [759] the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, [788] before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd.

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth[*] or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be 792 steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

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[*] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, describes *p'ulu* as woolen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses. The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. "*P'ulu*" is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, "*p'ruk*."

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. [421]
38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum dis- 175
appeared in a furious blaze after the morning conven- 792
tion of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the [421]
dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries

for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered 175
a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung 792
$1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

792

The supreme chief of this independent institution is 794
the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a 554
lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, [669] a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

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[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

[p.61(B)]

792 794 554 The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the maladministration of the intendancies, but all these powers are more nominal than effective, because the name of the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba*, mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

[626] Every day, during the morning assembly, a few remarks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [273 525] 784]

Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed 792 in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that 626 time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty 794 all day and night.

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy. Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of 792 the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He 794 is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices.

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the non-admittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been established, theoretically as centers of higher education. 792 Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In 794 Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a 873 member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority

[p.63(A)]

of the members of a college, at the time they enter, 792
have previously received only the training of ordinary 794
lamas, which consists of learning to read and write 873
more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy [871]
and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the [875]
teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and [876]
recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have
not received the same educational preparation and who
progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary
schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements:

[p. 64(A)]

1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges. 792 554
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only. 873 814
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges. 262
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792
Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814
of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873
groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

792 814 873 baters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability.

792 544 873 Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the nonexistence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

792 873 794 The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro-

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[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184–188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350–358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

[p. 65(A)]

gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792 and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873 to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794 to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792 who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157 for many years, knew the language very well and was 829 always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them."[15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123] own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, 792
live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their 794
own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of 342
a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang.

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA? 792

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by 792
reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In 75
Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'üng. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it.

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

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[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer[21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail.
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One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

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[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

[p. 66 (B)]

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang- 175
chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in 775
the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, 792
after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired 787
and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung.

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living
Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the [431]
guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family.

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty 175
lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his in- 775
tendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on 792
horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the

[p.67(B)]

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175
were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795
taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792
Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [4-31]
taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792
Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871
procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Liv- [5/1]
ing Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed [811]
to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which,
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, [784]
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive 871
learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, 292
as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

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[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the 792
well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his 875
pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are
made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems
that such instances often occur.

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curricu- 792
lum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the 871
intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he 484
was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback)
to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there;
at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he
went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New
Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at
Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for
study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and
went on a vacation with his family for four months.

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms
among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on
a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-
half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven
or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It
is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never [875]
leave their pupils; they accompany them on the jour-
neys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics
while riding horseback during the whole of the journey.
Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go
through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist
learning.

What about the frame of mind and the religious for- 792
mation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and 156
contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime
of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master,
swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above
others, and inflating their self-importance? What of
the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teen-
agers of basking continually in the adulation of a group
of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a
feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always
wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look
of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask?
Without doubt some of them are carried away with
their own play-acting and like to move in this misty
land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales
will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and
bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality.

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to 792
me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep 875
young men, for whom studies have not the slightest
appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their
dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike
out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when
corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter
the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices
of life among the servants and former novices of their
previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and,
lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A
large number of them are buds that will never bloom.

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philo- 792
sophical considerations.

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha- 276
ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku- 691
lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his 157
monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter.

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that [696]
he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time.

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be 792
well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was 157
the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum 578
in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery.

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed
their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had irretrievably [762]
lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a
powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828]
kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions 792 in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever 157 people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beau- [526] tiful and fast horses. Every three days he participated in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nanking in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendancy. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-t'ao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which [757] healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society. [p.170(B)]

LAMAISM AND MONASTICISM

The study of the preceding topics will help in understanding what the Lamaist institution in Huang-chung, called lamasery, consists of fundamentally. It can best be done by means of defining the respective positions of its chiefs and its subjects. 792

> In speaking about lamas and lamaseries, the terms "monk" and "monastery" are used indiscriminately, because we have no other terms. However, except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.
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> The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.[28]

Lamas take the first and second vows, promising to Buddha to be faithful to them. They take no vows of submission to the chief of the community, promising nothing to him except to remain celibate and to observe the rules of the community, to attend the exercises in the temple, and not to disturb the peace of the lamasery.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to impose any duty on the lamas. A salary is paid for the fufilling of any office, and those who do not intend to earn the money, do not apply for the job. The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the studies or the scientific trend of mind of the lamas. He only has the right to urge their presence at the ceremonies and knowledge of the texts recited at the meetings, because lamas attending the assembly receive a remuneration of tea, *tsamba,* meal, and a share of alms.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere 792
with the religious and spiritual education of the lamas. 554
These fields are under the jurisdiction of the individual master who directs the studies of a pupil. The lamas have the right to bring suit against each other at the Chinese courts, and the pupil has the right to bring suit against his master, without interference from the chief of the lamasery.

The amazing respective positions of a chief of the 792
lamasery and the lamas are crudely demonstrated by the facts of the admission of a lama to the lamasery, his retirement from it, and the conditions existing between them after the abandonment. Admission into a lamasery in Huang-chung is not complicated. Every unknown man who wears lama clothes and who goes straight to the courtyard of the intendancy of the monastery, presents 100 copper cash and asks for admittance, is given a scarf of felicity. He is led to see the intendant before whom he prostrates himself and to whom he presents the scarf; he promises to observe celibacy and the rules of the monastery, and to attend the morning ceremonies. His name is entered on the

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[28] David-Neel, *op. cit.,* 100.

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792 a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [893] monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read impreca- 684
tions. Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the 792
monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the 627
way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding 684
the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of 631
lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped
of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and
the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to
the monastery without looking back. A round mark [685]
is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so
marked to enter any monastery.

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, 792
three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her 684
death. They fled the same night. The whole village 682
of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which
was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay
an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at
court. The whole country was bursting with righteous [627]
indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the
lamasery.

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also 792
the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas 511
retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches 792
farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very 831
well and the texts prove it.[28]

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yel- [185]
low Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic
life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the

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[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to 772
Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his 831
exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be [762]
evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted
upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations.

The reform by means of serious study, however, [185]
seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the 772
present times. Among so many Monguor Living Bud- 461
dhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living.

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school 772
has been established by the rich monasteries, in order 871
to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29]

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers [772
there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought 771
to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally 175]
recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible."

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the 792
villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, 626
restoring peace in families, defending the position of the 888
women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

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In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when [292]
performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow
Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, [534]
and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

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abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules [792
of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images 771
worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in 175]
offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

[p. 73(A)]

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged 795
in magic. It is not known when most of them went 792
over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 175
1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-kulung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only
after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and [648]
offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

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The conditions under which the Red lamas lived 794
during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the prac- 175
tice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed 795
its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

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[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*. [p.73(B)]

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which 175
had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a 795
monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. [792] The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery [648] and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and 795
the deities honored in their temples may be passed over 792
here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

[p. 74(A)]

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, 795
walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, 792
likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

795
The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung 628
never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, 578
where lamas fought each other and destroyed each 792
others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku- 795
lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of 792
Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huangchung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [823]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

[p.175(A)]

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 792
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [223]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the
next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is
not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [263]
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished 792
and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for 795
seven days. 789

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the religious 792
life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not 795
unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living 789
Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a 823
spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind.

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor 792
the spirit of the well from which they draw water. 795
They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick 789
to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where

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[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95.

[p. 96(A)]

792
the well bubbles, for providing them with water during 795
the whole year. 789

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880– 792
1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of [342]
Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in [789]
former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of 756
shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits

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[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (1) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

[p.76(B)]

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called 776
the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. 756
Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama [772]
try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman
is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite 789
belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the [774]
temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills. 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

[p.98(A)]

782
the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven 789
and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, [731]
the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages 175
situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess 177
in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty [792]
strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan 796
ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of 782
their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple
and spend a night with him. The tradition requires [784]
that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain [171]
during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

[P102(A)]

clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

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[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

[p. 129 (A)]

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777
Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685
a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556
possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 782
The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685
rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782
it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556
on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

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[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha.* Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale*, Roma, IV, Part 1, 1952. The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 772
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on,
for the other items. They implore it to look at the
unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent
adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the
lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the
seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the
troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing
cortege with banners flying and drums, horns,
and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the
caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The
lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur.
The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep
hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed,
flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it;
the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles
are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The
sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution
is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust
into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his
thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he
invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed
in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the
caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging
spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus
made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the
possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order
to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants,
is still talked about in the country. The
splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled
with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed
the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the
bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit
thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to
capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution
for injustices is always advocated by the lamas,
although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a
mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first
among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed
to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity.
It does not allow anything of value belonging to the
family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored
as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional 796
temple besides the community temple, had been built 792
and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100.000." Outside 731
of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction 792
at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epi- [946]
zootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

Such constructions are never built inside the villages 731 or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a 792 road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the 346 village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa.* They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in 731 their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red 782 cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

[p. 132(B)]

When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

[p. 133(A)]

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the 785 whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting 792 (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the con- [783] sequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples 795 spread over the country, under the direction of a lama 785 of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old 792 lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village im- [622 poses corvées on some of the youngsters for the carry- 651] ing of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not [262 allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink 784] wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

selves at night only with their own clothes. Before 795
dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and 785
wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and 792 ●
pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.[13] The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea,

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[13] Granet, *Danses et légendes*, *op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds 795
hidden in his gown. Then follows a new chiap and 785
the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and 792
the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and chiap is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual chiap. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no chiap. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and chiap, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and chiap. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissable to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the 792
usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get informa- 115
tion from fasters concerning that captivating subject, [124]
and asked the children in the schools about what 785
grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

However, it was always said that the directors of the [792]
exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some
were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the 785
old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at 869
three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are 785
people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in 829
former existences, or for their covetousness or in- 869
justices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

[p. 135(A)]

the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

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In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and 175
peace in the families, and assured entrance into the 792
paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba*.[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on the neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba*, sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been ac- 527
customed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Mon-

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[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire 527 is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day.

Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits [604] on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarfs. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarfs. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarfs. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.[18]

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters 527 of the village on good horses to the lamasery after 604 breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who 772 will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to

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[18] Schram, *op. cit.*, 42.

[p. 138(B)]

offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, 527
according to the custom, he urges that they should offer 604
five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two 792
or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas.

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma;* he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784] inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

[p. 139(A)]

presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is 527 the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of 604 ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having 792 thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, [115] and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Mon- 761 guors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

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[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Segen*, 630.

[P1139(B)]

pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living 764
Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana
Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a [792]
table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy
water. He recites the prayers; with a curtain between
him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse
might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw
the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and
puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama,
who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself 764
and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do 768
not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump
over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands,
and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw.
Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and
they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives
his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the
monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the
valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be
brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best
clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said
according to the value of the sale of the items.[38] The
clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle
with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is
mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have 764
tended the oven and closed the four openings. After 765
three days the members of the family and relatives open
the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put
them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining
fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up
in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain.
It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The
cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it
has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every [784]
year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition
is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law
bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven,
and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling
before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married
and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of
times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top
of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough
is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations
are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the
following April, on the feast of the worship of the
ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name
of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register
(see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

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[38] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

the great mourning period is over, and the whole group 764
prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, 765
who will receive twelve rolls.

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited,
a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of [604
the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and 792]
some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period 765
the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted.

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning 765
color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the 171
nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43]

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. 765
The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not

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[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 19].

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130.

[p. 146(A)]

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792
radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

[p.157(B)]

wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368- 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

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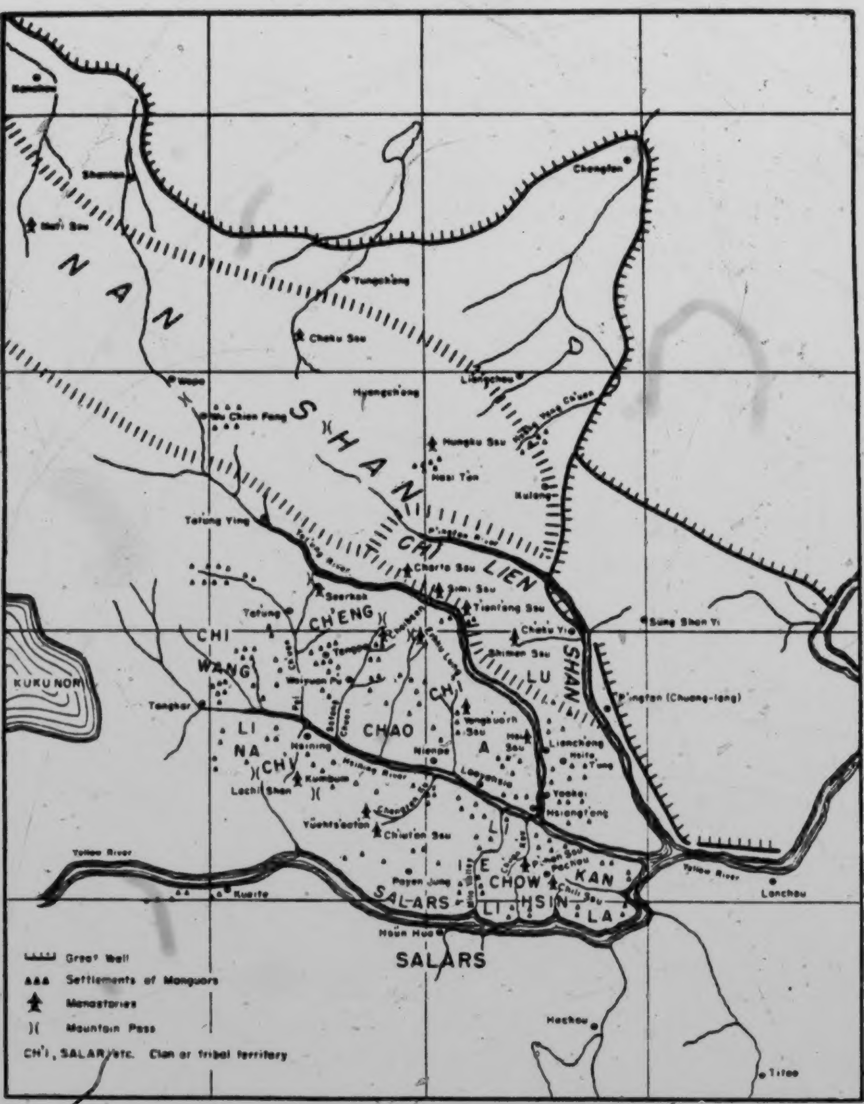
NAN SHAN
CH'I LIEN SHAN
LU SHAN
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Yungch'ang
Chaku Ssu
Ssu
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Hsiu Chien Fang
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Liangchou
Hungku Ssu
Hsai Tan
Kulang
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T'atung Ying
T'atung River
Charte Ssu
Simi Ssu
Seerkok
T'atung
Tienfang Ssu
Chaku Yi
Sung Shan Yi
Shimen Ssu
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Yaokai
Hsiangt'ang
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Payen Jung
P'anan Ssu
Pachou
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Yellow River
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Tifao
Great Wall
▲▲▲ Settlements of Monguors
Monastories
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CH'I, SALAR, etc. Clan or tribal territory

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Historical Tibet AJ2

FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 792

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HT 797 648

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

M 175x 648

The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [487 484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another, ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

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[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

[P. 12(A)]

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HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

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[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, **5**: 266. 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsuch-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, **15**: 12 *a–b*.

[P. 13 (B)]

000 175^{x} 361 [792]

mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

175^{x} 361 795 114

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[80] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a*–*b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

175^{x} 162 563

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

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[80] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

[P.14(A)]

Vigur AIH

at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans. M 175x 648 U 175 648

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

M 792 In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

M 173 In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

M 792 At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

M 175x 648 U 175 648 The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97 : 37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa*, the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

U 175 The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were

[P-19(A)]

FIRST LAMASERY BUILT BY EMPEROR— CREATION OF BOARD OF LAMAS

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The lama San la of Hsining wrote a letter to the tribes of Han Tun to induce them to surrender and some tribes did so. The Annals of Hsining 15: 12*a*; note the surrender of the tribes, the tribute of horses offered by them, the appointment of Lama San la as chief of the surrendered tribes, the building of a lamasery south of Nien Pei, the name of Ch'u T'an bestowed upon the lamasery by the emperor, the first creation of the Board of Lamas in Hsining, and the appointment of San la as its director (Monguors II: 16–17). The example set by the emperor encouraged many lamas to act in the way of San la, attracting tribes to move into Huangchung, etc. So nan chi li ssu, the chief of the Han Tun tribes which did not follow the exhortations of San la, surrendered later, in 1397, and their chief was appointed Chih huei ch'ien shih in Han Tun. In the *Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*, is noted an inscription "appeased Tibetans" bestowed by the emperor upon the temple Ta-fu-ssu, built in Hsining during the Yuan by the ancestors of the Shat'o Li Nan-ko (Monguors II: 14), and there is recorded the building of the temple Kung-t'ung ssu in the city (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 2*a*). At the end of the same year T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Lan Yu against the rebel Mongol Yueh Lu Timur in Chien Ch'ang in Szechwan province. The rebel was captured and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*; 46: 25*b*).

DEATH OF EMPEROR T'AI TSUNG (HUNG-WU), 1398

175x
[160]
648

T'ai Tsung, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, died in 1398.

Since 1371, the date of the submission of the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the circumstances of the country had changed entirely, the economy had developed, the population had increased, and the influence of lamaism had extended, thanks to the granting of titles and domains to lamas and the founding of peculiar institutions for those among them who induced tribes to submit and to move into the country (Monguors II: 16–18). However, the most important increase of the population was caused by the moving into Huangchung of 7,200 families of Chinese soldiers, numbering 15,854 persons, during the Hung Wu period, to start the first military colonies (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 15*a*). The civil and military administration of the country had progressively been organized and the conquest of Huangchung stabilized. During the Hung Wu period the Monguor t'u-ssu had proved their faithfulness to the Ming dynasty. They had promoted the stabilization of the country and fought for the empire in the farflung provinces of Liaotung, Yunnan, Szechwan, and Turkistan, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh had

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan 175x
tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts 648
of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered
subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at
that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining,
conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his
family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of
Hsining 27: 10*a*).

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military 175x
colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. 161
The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of 592
the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons
constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals*
of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four [792] ●
more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu,
situated five li north of the city of Hsining,
1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410;
Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of
the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner
of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*).
Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha
t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li [233]
t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378
after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea
against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry
every year, and had to be fed on pasture.

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the 175x
Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the 648
Chih-hui K'ang Cho[illegible] against the tribes of Anting
and Ch'u Hsien (t[illegible] old Tunhuang region), in
which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse
and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered
on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who
participated in the expedition under the command of
Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*),
t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*),
t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i
Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals*
of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*),
Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of
Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*;
Annals of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on
the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew
from first-hand information that the commanders of
Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u
Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight
to their countries. The murderers fled with their
tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains,
and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to
the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing
defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head
of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on,
but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan,
scared to death, went to court to confess his fault.

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li 400 centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in 175x an ambuscade (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; *Annals* of 579 Kansu 46: 35*b*). 648

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu.* T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided San-ch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangkotsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with [792] 4,000 horses. They beseiged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19; 33: 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the perform-

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). 175x
The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to 721
a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished 175x
the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note 213
is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to 175x
reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was re- 648
pelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long
as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China [712]
proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism 175x
in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many 792
times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one 795
of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan

175x 792 795 and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.).

175x 648 In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39).

175x 703 211 In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b;* 27: 28).

175x 648 In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. [554 211] Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon [211 703] him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b;* 27: 21*a–b; Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*).

175x A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of

The situation was very serious, because the revolt 175*
spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was 648
general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the 579
monastery of Erh Ku Lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center [792]
of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control.

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshalled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the 175*
monasteries of Erh Ku Lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), 792
and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of re- 579
sistance. The lamas of Erh Ku Lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34–37).

[P.58(B)]

The three biggest monasteries in the country were 175x burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages 792 of the subjects of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung. 579 The whole country was a ruin.

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the T'ieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.[93]

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the 175x destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and 792 the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34–37; II: 25, 26).

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

175x
624

T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt

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[93] *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52–58; 42: 24*a*. *Annals* of Hsining 16*a*–*b*. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

175^{x} 648 Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand [354] to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor.

175^{x} 792 Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*).

175^{x} 624 In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*).

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, [344 251] for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*).

175^{x} 653 In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended.

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

175^{x} The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*).

[P. 63 (A)]